

**TOP SECRET**

21 May 1951

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MEMORANDUM FOR: [REDACTED]

SUBJECT: Efforts to Replace the Present Regime in Russia

1. Following up our conversation of today, I understand that we are now committed to submit to an inter-departmental working group organized under NPSB by Mr. Phillips, a paper with respect to above subject which will:

- a. Define the problem.
- b. Outline the kinds of intelligence needed to solve the problem.
- c. Define the research and other action necessary to obtain the necessary intelligence and
- d. Raise the questions of policy which are involved in attempting to accomplish the subject result.

2. In approaching this project, let me note down what I know of its recent history:

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Not long ago [REDACTED] wrote a paper, "Death in the Family," which suggested the desirability of exploiting Stalin's death in an effort to bring about a regime which would be sympathetic to Western objectives. This paper came to the attention of Mr. Phillips, Special Assistant to Mr. Barrett, who, in turn, brought it to the attention of [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] The latter two joined in drafting a plan called CANCELLATION (Attachment "A"), which is based in large part upon Mr. [REDACTED] paper and which was brought to Mr. [REDACTED] attention, ~~informally~~, and, I believe, to the attention of NPSB. On the basis of the two papers, Mr. Phillips set up an Administrative Planning Staff to further develop the two plans, consisting of Mr. Phillips, representatives of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and JCS and [REDACTED] At a meeting on 10 May 1951, this group asked each representative to supply the information set forth in the attached report of the meeting (Attachment "B").

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At about the same time, Mr. [ ] decided that any investigations of the possibility of exploiting Stalin's death should be handled on a basis broader than as a problem for PW and asked [ ] to look into the matter. On 15 May, [ ] and I attended an informal meeting of the Policy Planning Staff, consisting of Mr. Nitze's deputy, Mr. Ferguson, his Executive Secretary, Mr. Watts, Mr. Davies, and Mr. Joyce. The agreements of this meeting were:

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a. That efforts typified by [ ] etc., should be considered to lie in the field of political rather than psychological warfare.

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b. That the planning effort should have a very high priority and

c. That before realistic plans could be made, OIR, with the help of CIA and others as required, should gather together all information bearing on the problem presently in government files and in the hands of a number of private individuals who had had experience in Russia. This information should then be evaluated in order to get OIR's best judgment as to the weaknesses which could be exploited and the means of exploiting them.

d. It was agreed that this research should not be limited to the occasion of Stalin's death but should cover all possibilities of replacing the present regime.

e. It was agreed that OPC, with informal OIR assistance, would draft the statement of intelligence requirements to form OIR's frame of reference.

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On the following day, [ ] reported the results of the meeting of the day before to the consultants. As the minutes of the meeting will reflect ([ ]), it was agreed (Joyce concurring), that a better way to obtain the same result would be through IAC and that we should proceed to prepare a statement of intelligence requirements for IAC.

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On last Saturday, I discussed the IAC procedure with [ ] in [ ] office and after he had talked with [ ] office, I was told that ONE, although not believing that the product would ~~not~~ necessarily be a National Intelligence Estimate, agreed that the IAC machinery could and should be used in order to obtain the same research product which we had originally thought could be directly forthcoming from OIR. He suggested, and I agreed, that we would prepare the same analysis of the types of information which are thought necessary, and after checking with OIR and ONE we would ask [ ] to send them to General Smith for referral to IAC through ONE.

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*Work Paper #1*

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As noted in the first paragraph of this memorandum, we are still headed for IAC but now with the intervening step of NPSB. This is probably all to the good in that through NPSB we can obtain and incorporate the ideas of the P area and of OIR in State on a more formal basis than we otherwise could.

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As I told you, [ ] would like you to head up a working group to draft a paper for submission to the Phillips group next Monday, which covers the points noted in the first paragraph of this memorandum. The other members of the group are to be:

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In preparing the paper, please bear in mind the following:

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a. The problem is broader than the exploitation of Stalin's death. It is the overthrow of the present regime whether geared to Stalin's death or not.

b. [ ] and the State Department consider that the problem is broader than the PW field and raises questions which are predominantly political rather than PW in character.

c. OIR in particular and probably also the Policy Planning Staff in State should have a look at it before it goes to IAC.

d. One result of the study, of which your paper will constitute the terms of reference, will be the definition of categories of information on which our intelligence gathering should concentrate.

*now and later*

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3. I have sent a copy of this memorandum to [ ] so that he can inform you directly of any respects in which it is inaccurate.

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*York Paper  
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C-PL/PS

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Work Paper

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